

T. GALLOWAY RIGG.

Ireland

AND THE

Empire.

BY

T. GALLOWAY RIGG,

AUTHOR OF

"Populational Representation," "Prospects of Political Parties,"
"London Companies and their Irish Tenantry," "Ulster
Craze," &c., &c.

"Where, when, and how is this great controversy to end?"—

W. E. GLADSTONE.

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IRISH PARLIAMENTARY OFFICES,
PALACE CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W., *November 3rd*, 1883.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you very much for your letter with enclosure, both of which I have read with the greatest interest and attention ; and I am gratified to find, that a Scotchman should take such pains to understand and unravel an Irish question.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

CHARLES S. PARNELL.

T. GALLOWAY RIGG, Esq.

IRISH PARLIAMENTARY OFFICES,
PALACE CHAMBERS, 9 BRIDGE STREET,
LONDON, S.W., *December 7th*, 1883.

DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, and thank you very much for the extracts you forward me, and which I now return. I have read them with much interest and attention. The point to which you allude is a most important one, and one which has not escaped me for a moment ; and I shall continue to watch the progress of events in that direction with the greatest care.

I am,

Yours very truly,

CHARLES S. PARNELL.

T. GALLOWAY RIGG, Esq.,
Castle Douglas, N.B.

From SIR HENRY JAMES, *Ex-Attorney General for England.*

NEW COURT,
TEMPLE, *November 1st*, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for sending me a copy of the broad-sheet containing some very useful statistics. I shall be glad if you will send me three or four additional copies as I think there are others who will like to have the figures bearing upon this Irish question placed before them in so clear a form.

I will send for some of your Pamphlets to Parliament Street.

I assure you I enjoyed my visit to Dumfries much. The air was in every sense very bracing.

I am,

Very faithfully,

HENRY JAMES.

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PRELIMINARY.

1. The Home Rule Bill of 1886, put forward by Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Cabinet, and accepted by Mr. Parnell and the Irish Nationalist members as a final settlement on the part of Ireland, became utterly dead, and without a solitary mourner, within the very short space of six years.

2. The year 1893 found the hitherto united Irish Party divided into a couple of unequally-sized divisions violently hostile towards each other ; nevertheless, they agreed to accept a measure of Home Rule (of course, as a final settlement) differing, root and branch, from the measure they so unanimously accepted in 1886.

3. But the more recently accepted of the two final settlements is as undoubtedly dead as its unlamented elder brother, and a General Election will as undoubtedly bury it.

4. The Liberal Government of 1886, with the unanimous consent of the Irish members, included in their Home Rule Bill a ruinous and wholly unworkable Land Settlement ; in 1893 they proposed no Land Settlement, whatever, the Irish members as readily assenting.

5. The House of Commons saved the Irish people from the first measure, and the House of Lords from the second.

6. Some third measure is, however, necessary. What shape shall it take? Let the Irish people consider.

7. Ireland is being bled white. Is the Union solely to blame? Or primarily?

8. The Union has lasted ninety-four years. If Ireland's population during the last forty-seven years has steadily declined, is it not equally the fact that during the first forty-seven years it as steadily increased?

9. For twenty-four years Liberal and Conservative Governments have been dealing with the Irish Land Question in the interests of the Irish farmer ; Rent Acts, Arrears Acts, Purchase Acts, succeeding each other in rapid succession, with more, we are told, to follow. Yet the population steadily declines, and that, too, more rapidly where the

soil is rich than where it is poor or worthless, and, of course, the acreage under the various crops declines likewise.

10. Clearly, then, a satisfactory Land Settlement is for Ireland indispensable; a Constitution being only *desirable*—at all events, in the immediate future.

11. For the following Land Settlement Scheme it is maintained ;—

- (1) That the Irish landlords will thereby get a larger compensation for their interests than they can otherwise reasonably expect to receive.
- (2) That the gain to the farmer and the general population of Ireland is perfectly obvious.
- (3) That the British taxpayer cannot thereby sustain loss, and will most certainly be an ultimate gainer to a considerable extent.
- (4) That Sub-Commissioners, Chief-Commissioners, legal consultations, appeals, delays, valuations, and the various anxieties and disappointments and expenses inseparably connected with the existing systems of rent-fixing and land purchase *are totally dispensed with*.
- (5) That an Evicted Tenants' Bill becomes entirely unnecessary.
- (6) That universal education becomes an easy possibility, and local government reform an immediate certainty.

12. For the proposed Irish Parliament it is maintained :

- (1) That it would in no way interfere with the working of the English Constitution, which would simply remain intact.
- (2) That the Protestant portion of the population of Ulster would have no grounds whatever either for complaint or apprehension.
- (3) That, assuming the Catholics of Ireland to be wholly unlike the population of any civilized country in this almost twentieth century, and that they would accordingly desire to persecute and plunder their Protestant fellow-countrymen—they, nevertheless, would be unable to do so.

I.—LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEME.

My proposal is that the Imperial Government shall deal direct with the Irish landlords, and over the heads, and altogether apart from, the tenantry or the Irish people, acquiring not merely holdings—not merely that portion of Ireland's surface which happens to be rented by the farmers—but the surface in its entirety: the plantations, bogs, waste-lands, fisheries, shootings, even the very soil on which the dwelling-houses of the landlords stand. As the result of this operation, I should expect to see the Imperial Government in absolute possession of all and every portion of the non-urban land comprehended within the four seas which surround Ireland. The landlords should, however, be left in possession of their castles, mansions, and dwelling-houses, likewise, of their parks, pleasure-grounds, and home-farms, in perpetuity, subject to a perpetuity rent. The conditions upon which this object should, I think, be effected, may be roughly and briefly stated as follows:—

- (1) That the Irish tenantry pay six months' rent to their present landlords as a final transaction with them.
- (2) That antecedent arrears be abolished.
- (3) That the sums advanced under the Ashbourne Act be increased to ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS STERLING, and placed at the disposal of the Irish landlords by the Imperial Government.
4. That the Irish landlords be required to elect a representative body, for the purpose of drawing up a scheme of division for the consideration of the Imperial Parliament.
5. That, in the meantime, Irish landlords be empowered to demand an advance, not exceeding four years' purchase of their present rental, on account of the sum they will ultimately be allotted; that this advance be subject to a proportional discount, and liable for claims in respect of mortgages and family charges to the extent of one-fourth only.

Thus Irish proprietors would retain their present homes, and the immediate surroundings of their homes. But in lieu of a steadily decreasing rental, frequently extracted with expense and difficulty from an unwilling and disaffected, because impoverished, tenantry, they would receive something like 20 years' purchase of their present net incomes to invest as they might think proper, either in Ireland or out of it. Will the landlords of Ireland be sufficiently wise, far-seeing, provident and patriotic to accept some such final settlement from the Imperial Exchequer at a time when, owing to a plethora of capital and profound peace, it is possible for the Government to raise many millions of money at less than three per cent. ? *In other words, is the present golden opportunity to pass away—golden for the Empire, for Ireland, for the landlords—perhaps never to return ?* For it need hardly be pointed out that the outbreak of a great war—even a great war in which the United Kingdom might not be immediately involved—would at once enhance the value of money, and render the adoption of any such purchase scheme for Ireland totally impracticable and out of the question.

II.—Baronial Boards—Local Government and Education.

The present Irish landlords (only, however, considered as rent collectors and receivers) having, in this or some similar method, been got rid of absolutely and finally, I propose that their places shall be taken by representative bodies, chosen for each of the 321 baronies into which Ireland is territorially divided ; that these Baronial Boards become the proprietors of the holdings, waste lands, bogs, plantations, fisheries, shootings, and entire properties and estates of the bought-out landlords ; and that the present occupiers shall hold of them in perpetuity, subject to a perpetuity-rent.

These Baronial Boards should take over the duties of Poor Law Guardians and managers of National Schools. They should be required to remit one-half of their gross

rental to some central authority in Dublin, towards the payment of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the various other charges of which it would be necessary to relieve the Imperial Exchequer in return for the advanced purchase-money ; the remainder of the rental being divided between the Baronial Boards and the Congested or Distressed Districts Department of the Minister of Agriculture, except where the barony is itself included in a congested or distressed district. This arrangement to last for four years, and afterwards as the Irish Parliament may determine.

III.—County Boards and Councils.

The creation of Baronial Boards involves, as a matter of course, the creation of County Boards. I propose that these boards consist of one-fourth of the members of the Baronial Boards, with an equal number of other members elected on a higher voting qualification, say, that of £20 per annum rental, as owner or occupier. These boards should take over the functions of grand juries and inspectors of National Schools ; should appoint the sheriffs, manage the various institutions within the county supported by local funds, and, in particular, the industrial or technical schools, which, it is presumed, would be established in a majority of the baronies, and exercise a general superintendence over the Baronial Boards.

IV.—Further Functions of Baronial and County Boards.

It will, perhaps, give a clearer conception if I enumerate some of the uses to which these boards might apply that portion of the land rental that would remain in their hands. Thus these funds should be applied :—

1. Towards defraying the local expenses connected with primary education, which should be free, denominational, technical and universal, children to have a free mid-day meal in common, teachers' salaries and prospects to be immensely augmented, the pension and results system being almost totally abolished.

2. In the establishment of bursaries for pupils and junior teachers who have displayed special aptitude for the study of certain subjects.

3. In the establishment of woollen mills, fishery schools, and the furtherance of industrial and manufacturing undertakings on the co-operative system and in connection with the industrial schools, children over a certain age being permitted to work a certain number of hours weekly at occupations suitable to their age and sex.

4. In the planting of trees in suitable localities and along certain public roads (as in Belgium and other countries) under skilled supervision.

5. In the reclamation of waste lands, and in the purchase of grazing and other large farms as they come into the market, and in the transference of families to them from adjoining congested districts, or from districts too sterile to afford subsistence in return for labour.

6. In the gradual abolition of the workhouse system, by pensioning the aged and infirm poor, and placing them, where possible, with their near relations, and by boarding out orphan children, and by employing surplus adult labour on waste land, or in the co-operative mills and other enterprises that would ultimately be undertaken by the emancipated tenantry.

7. And for similar objects of public benefit.

V.—The Perpetuity Rent.

What is this perpetuity rent to be that the occupiers are to pay the Baronial Boards? It cannot be too clearly understood and appreciated that what is simply indispensable is a sweeping basis of settlement, one capable not only of universal application, but of immediate use. *Immediate, sweeping and final* are the three qualities not only necessary for a satisfactory conclusion of the land war in Ireland, but for the establishment on an efficient and lasting basis of National, as well as local, self-government.

Rents in Ireland are of three kinds. They are either non-judicial or old rents, judicial or reduced rents, or instalments on agreed-on purchase-money. I propose that

the farmers of Ireland surrender one-third of their tenant-right to the Baronial Boards, to be held in trust, for the improvement of labourers' and artisans' dwellings, and for cottage allotments; and the perpetuity rent to be the lowest of the three following calculations, pence not being reckoned, viz.:—50 per cent. of the non-judicial or old rent; 60 per cent. of the judicial, or as a rule, the reduced rent; or 75 per cent. of the instalment on the agreed-on purchase-money—the latter becoming perpetual, and the purchase arrangement cancelled so far as the tenant is concerned.

The tenantry would thus hold under a popular, because possible, rental, have the fruits of their past labours restored to them by virtue of the rent diminution, and have their improvements always secured in the future. They would look upon the application of the rental, through representative boards, for the purpose of ameliorating the neglected condition of their country and developing its hidden resources, and for education and other public ends, with very different feelings to those they now experience in seeing it for the most part drained out of the country, to be consumed in England or on the Continent, or for investment in non-Irish undertakings.

VI.—The Imperial Exchequer and Ireland.

We have now to estimate the cost of this proposed land settlement so far as it concerns the English and Scotch taxpayers. On the one hand, the Imperial Exchequer would incur, in the shape of interest on the proposed borrowed purchase-money, a little over four millions sterling per annum, of which sum Ireland's contribution would be something like one-tenth, leaving Great Britain about three and a-half millions sterling to the bad. On the other hand, it may fairly be assumed that the Irish people would gladly relieve the Imperial Exchequer of all charges in connection with public education, reformatory and industrial schools, prisons, infirmaries, hospitals, and lunatic asylums; and would also defray the annual expenses of the Local Government Board, the Post Office, the Office of Works, the Valuation and Boundary Survey, the Land

Commission, the Dublin Metropolitan Police and police courts, and Dublin Castle expenses generally, *the Irish Government, of course, taking over the duties, responsibilities and revenues of these various institutions, offices, and departments, and with which the Imperial Parliament for the future would have nothing whatever to do.* In addition, I propose that the Irish Exchequer defray one-half the cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary while that force exists, and until it is superseded by an ordinary police system, controlled and supported by the Irish Government. These various items, and a few others it is hardly now necessary to specify, at present amount to about two and a-half millions sterling per annum. If, therefore, only the *direct* gains to the Imperial Exchequer are considered, only about a million pounds sterling per annum would have to be made up.*

Before agreeing on behalf of Ireland to the payment of this comparatively trifling and only temporary discrepancy (even on the improbable assumption that Great Britain, through her Parliamentary representatives, would insist on getting it), let us have recourse to a little argument; and by way of beginning would our English and Scotch Unionist friends kindly ask themselves the question: How it happens that in Ireland policemen are so very much more numerous than in Scotland? Comparisons may be at times odious, but they are often instructive. The population of Scotland at the last official census was 4,025,647 and that of Ireland 4,704,750. Scotland, though slightly smaller, has a much

* But it is quite obvious that there must also accrue *indirect* gain to Great Britain of a very notable kind. Irish farmers and their labourers, working under improved conditions, would produce more, become much better off, and consume greater quantities of dutiable articles. English and Scotch manufacturers and merchants would find in Ireland an extended market. The poorer classes of Irishmen would not be so largely driven over to British districts seeking precarious employment at starvation wages, and contributing so largely to the pauper and semi-pauper, and of course also to the criminal classes. Is it necessary to refer to the twenty-five or thirty thousand troops that must be retained in Ireland at present? To the loss of time and temper in the Imperial Parliament? To the political deadlock, which all parties agree must continue until the present land system in Ireland is abolished, and self-government conceded?

larger urban population, and should therefore require a larger police force than Ireland if affairs in each country were similarly satisfactory. But in 1893 the police in Scotland numbered 4,700, whereas in Ireland there were 13,696. Their cost in Scotland was about £91 per man; in Ireland £113 per man. In Scotland there was only one policeman to about every 850 persons; in Ireland there was one policeman to every 340 persons. In Scotland the police, as in England, are a municipal force, of the people, and in harmony with the people. In Ireland they are an Imperial force, apart from the people, out of sympathy with the people and generally understood to be so. But the all-important detail for our Unionist friends is this: Scotland and Ireland both received grants out of the Imperial taxes towards the payment of the police—Scotland received £150,000, Ireland received £1,482,000. If there were no land question in Ireland any more than in Scotland, I ask, even the average newspaper reader, whether the Royal Irish Constabulary would be any longer necessary; whether Ireland would require anything in the shape of policemen beyond the ordinary unarmed citizens in uniform who in Great Britain are the servants of the various local bodies? It is not necessary to suggest anything so startling as the immediate disbandment of this unpolicelike and most expensive force. What I suggest is that, after two years, certain baronies might be allowed to replace them by the ordinary police, if the Irish Government saw no reason to refuse an application to that effect, endorsed by the County Council. Meanwhile it is proposed that Ireland pays one-half their cost, the Imperial Exchequer contributing the remaining amount, which at present would be about £740,000. Let it be conceded that the proposed land settlement will be a satisfactory one all round, and that Ireland for the future, agriculturally speaking, will be as tranquil as Great Britain, and the ultimate saving to the Imperial Exchequer of nearly the whole cost of the Irish police becomes a foregone conclusion within a not very distant period.

Then, as regards the army. The garrison in Scotland seldom exceeds 4,000 men; in 1893 it was 3,686. In Ire-

land there are rarely less than 24,000 men ; in 1893 there were 27,155, and this, too, in addition to the 14,000 armed Constabulary only just referred to. Surely it can be admitted that, following improved social conditions, the Imperial Government has in its military, as in its police administration in Ireland, an immense opportunity of effecting retrenchment. As it is, successive Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, consider it necessary to maintain in Ireland from 20,000 to 24,000 troops over and above the number proved by experience to be amply sufficient for Scotland. On the financial aspect of the matter, perhaps the words of Mr. Robert Giffen, of the Board of Trade, had better be cited :—

“If the home troops were to be stationed in Ireland in proportion to the population, the troops in Ireland would be about 12,000 only ; if in proportion to resources, about 5,000 only. Actually, Ireland has at least 24,000 troops, sometimes more, an excess on the first basis of 12,000 troops, and on the second basis of nearly 20,000. At £150 per man, which is the cost of the British standing army, we thus spend in Ireland on the first basis £1,800,000, which we might save ; and on the second basis nearly £3,000,000.”

It has occasionally been remarked, in explanation of the extraordinary disproportionate number of soldiers stationed in Ireland, as compared with its due share, however computed, that this is owing to recruiting or other reasons connected with army management ; and that the extra number of soldiers may as well be in Ireland as in any portion of Great Britain, and are as much available for Imperial purposes as if stationed elsewhere. But, says Mr. Robert Giffen :—

“Unfortunately, it is beyond question that the troops are *not* available. The extra 12,000 or 20,000 troops that are in Ireland beyond what is necessary to garrison it in proportion to Great Britain, are lost to us for Imperial purposes. *The expenditure is pure waste.*”

As in the case of the Royal Irish Constabulary, it is not necessary to propose an immediate military reduction to normal limits ; at the same time, it cannot be too strongly insisted that this immensely important and valuable reform is what must inevitably follow in due time, as a direct and necessary consequence of a solution of the land problem and

the concession of self-government. What, however, is surely possible at a very early date, certainly within four or five years, is a reduction of the army of occupation in Ireland from 27,000 or more to 17,000 or less, or to five times or six times the force maintained in Scotland. For our present purpose this not very startling reduction, or a much smaller one, would be more than sufficient, constituting, according to Mr. Giffen's calculation, an annual saving of one and a-half millions sterling per annum, and, therefore not only securing the British taxpayer against one penny of loss, but positively securing a substantial saving. It is assumed that the Government, while present circumstances continue, will be able to borrow the £150,000,000 purchase-money at less than three per cent., especially as ten millions have already been advanced, and thirty other millions are at the disposal of the Land Commission, and the whole of the balance need not be raised in any one year.

On this basis, the annual cost to the Imperial taxpayer could hardly exceed four millions. But as the expression "Imperial taxpayer" includes Irishmen, and as Ireland pays, says Mr. Giffen, "one-tenth or eleventh of the taxes," this would leave Great Britain liable for about three millions and a-half. But, assuming Ireland's willingness to take over two and a-half millions or thereabouts of Imperial liability (a proceeding that should not involve the expenditure of the whole of this amount by Ireland for exactly similar purposes), and the net annual loss to Great Britain is the comparatively trifling amount of a million pounds sterling per annum, even though we assume there would be no indirect gain whatever, and no possibility of reducing the number and expenses of the Constabulary, or of the immense military garrison, or of cutting down the very heavy annual expenses incurred by the present system of legal administration, and Crimes Act prosecutions, and Castle government generally.

I propose that this financial arrangement *should last twelve years*, or during the existence of three Irish Parliaments, and that meanwhile the system of levying and collecting Imperial taxation be continued as at present

remaining quite outside the province of the Irish Government for this probationary period.

Altogether, and without going minutely into details, it may be safely laid down as an incontrovertible proposition that while the loss to Great Britain during the first few years could only be trifling, the gain on a twelve years' arrangement would undoubtedly be very considerable. The end of twelve years would find the annual cost of Imperial administration in Ireland immensely reduced, especially as regards the three terrible items of soldiers, lawyers, and police. Then would be the time to have a committee appointed, composed of Irish and Imperial officials and representatives, for the purpose of going thoroughly into the entire question of Imperial taxation; of ascertaining the extent to which Ireland would then be contributing to Imperial expenses over and above her just proportion; and of arriving at a further fiscal arrangement, either for another term of years, or as a permanent settlement.

THE CONSTITUTION.

VII.—Home Rule: What it cannot be.

Apart from the obvious necessity of establishing some central authority in Dublin, as a consequence of creating Baronial Boards and County Councils, and investing them with the powers and privileges suggested, it is idle not to recognise that in view of the decided opinion embodied in the representation returned by the Irish electorate at three successive general elections—the Nationalist Party still holding 80 out of the 103 seats—the question of the abolition of the "Castle" system of government in Ireland is fully within the range of practical politics, and presses urgently for settlement.

While schemes have been prepared and suggested and criticised, and at least one Government scheme abandoned for a later one, the ground, during the last eight years, has been appreciably getting cleared. If no scheme, Government or otherwise, has yet met with anything like general acceptance, certain features in almost all of them have been generally condemned, and may be regarded as out

of the way. In this connection we may enumerate the following :—

1. That Ireland should be created a colony.
2. That the Viceroy should be a Prince of the Blood.
3. That the Imperial Parliament should supervise the legislation of the Irish one.
4. That the Irish Privy Council should be considerably enlarged and given the power of the Veto.
5. That Ireland should cease to return members to the Imperial House of Commons.
6. That the Irish Parliament should consist of *one chamber only*.

VIII.—Home Rule : What it must be.

Instead of a mere convention, or unicameral system, involving the inclusion of one or more of the above unpopular and unworkable features, why not, after all, have recourse to the plan put forward by Mr. Isaac Butt on the evening of Thursday, the 19th of May, 1870, in the Bilton Hotel, Dublin, and cordially accepted by a mixed, but highly influential assembly of Catholics and Protestants, of Liberals and Conservatives, of Nationalists and Orangemen, namely, the management of Irish domestic and local affairs by a Parliament assembled in Dublin, composed of Her Majesty the Sovereign and her successors, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland? With Her Majesty available to open the Irish Parliament in person, or in the way the Imperial Parliament is opened, where is the necessity for a Lord Lieutenant, or Prince Viceroy, or any other kind of viceroy? Why ask for pinchbeck royalty of any description when the real thing is obtainable? Where is the difficulty? Then, again, as to an enlarged Privy Council, with its arbitrary veto, or two distinct classes of members deliberating in the same chamber, but voting as separate orders—why not create a second chamber at once? Would it not be equally easy, and infinitely more acceptable?

An Irish Parliament without a House of Lords or Senate, and consisting of a single elective chamber, would bear too obvious a resemblance to the Corporation of

Dublin or an English County Council to elicit respect and power in Ireland, or possess dignity in the eyes of Englishmen and foreigners. In Ireland it would not only be regarded as altogether unhistorical; and as an entirely novel as well as doubtful experiment, but it would almost certainly fail to secure what under present circumstances is so pre-eminently desirable—the co-operation and patriotic interests of the aristocratic and wealthy classes. Nor would matters be greatly mended by the institution of two chambers, both of them being elective. I accordingly propose the re-establishment of the two historic Houses of Lords and Commons, consisting each of 100 members—the one nominative, the other elective.

In submitting the following scheme for the creation of an Irish House of Lords, I cannot too strongly desire the fact to be emphasised that it is based *solely* on the assumption that the land question had become as much a thing of the past as the question of disestablishment; and that the aristocratic and propertied interests had wholly ceased to be necessarily antagonistic to the farming interest. Apart from these assumptions, I fully admit that any such House of Lords or Senate as the following would be quite unacceptable to the Irish people:—

IX,—THE IRISH HOUSE OF LORDS,

I.

Aristocracy and Property.

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. PATRICK:

PRINCE OF WALES,	EARL OF DUNRAVEN,
DUKE OF CONNAUGHT,	EARL OF HOWTH,
DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE,	EARL OF CARYSFORT,
MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN,	EARL OF ERNE,
MARQUIS OF WATERFORD,	EARL OF KILMOREY,
MARQUIS OF ORMOND,	EARL OF ROSSE,
EARL OF DARTREY,	EARL OF LIMERICK,
EARL OF CORK,	VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT,
EARL OF GOSFORD,	VISCOUNT WOLSELEY,
EARL OF KENMARE,	BARON CARLINGFORD,
EARL OF LISTOWEL,	BARON MONTEAGLE,
EARL OF CAVAN,	BARON INCHQUIN.

THE PRESENT HOLDERS OF ANCIENT IRISH TITLES :

THE MACDERMOTT,	THE O'DONOGHUE,
THE KNIGHT OF GLIN,	THE O'DONOVAN,
THE KNIGHT OF KERRY,	THE O'GORMAN,
THE MACDERMOTT ROE,	THE O'GRADY,
THE MCGILLICUDDY,	THE O'MAINE
THE O'CONOR DON,	THE O'MOREHOE.

Her Majesty the Queen to create twelve Catholic Peers, and nominate twelve Protestants from the existing Irish Peerage ; these twenty-four persons to be life members.

II.

Law and Justice.

LORD CHANCELLOR.	LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.
VICE-CHANCELLOR.	MASTER OF THE ROLLS.
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, COMMON PLEAS.	
LORD CHIEF BARON, EXCHEQUER.	
RECORDER OF DUBLIN.	

III.

Religion and Learning.

<i>Catholics.</i>	<i>Episcopalians.</i>
THE FOUR ARCHBISHOPS,	THE TWO ARCHBISHOPS,
DEAN OF DUBLIN,	DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S
<i>Presbyterians.</i>	<i>Methodists.</i>
THE MODERATOR,	THE PRESIDENT.

IV.

Education, Science and Art.

PROVOST, TRINITY COLLEGE.
 RECTOR, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.
 PRESIDENT, ST. PATRICK'S, MAYNOOTH.
 PRESIDENT, PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE, BELFAST.
 PRESIDENT, METHODIST COLLEGE.
 PRESIDENT, ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.
 PRESIDENT, ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY.
 PRESIDENT, ACADEMY OF MEDICINE.
 PRESIDENT, COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.
 PRESIDENT, COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.
 PRESIDENT, ROYAL INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS.
 THE ROYAL ASTRONOMER OF IRELAND.

V.

Trade and Commerce.

LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

HIGH SHERIFF OF DUBLIN.

LORD MAYOR OF BELFAST.

MAYOR OF CORK.

MAYOR OF LIMERICK.

PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, DUBLIN.

PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BELFAST.

PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CORK.

PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, LIMERICK.

PRESIDENT, TRADES' COUNCIL, DUBLIN.

GOVERNOR, BANK OF IRELAND.

Would such an assembly be unworthy the recognition of the Royal and Imperial ruler of the still United Kingdom, or be regarded, except numerically, as in any respect inferior to the Imperial House of Lords? Would it constitute a standing menace and danger to the Empire? Could it by any possibility involve separation or the outbreak of civil war? Would it be incapable, fully and adequately, of revising legislative proposals instituted in the House of Commons, and of attaining the end for which second chambers are understood to exist?

The Princes of the Blood in the Irish as in the Imperial House of Lords might be relied upon to take no active part in the deliberations, especially in questions of a distinctly party character. They would usually accompany the Sovereign, and attend at the opening of Parliament, or any special occasions of ceremony, such as royal levees, or court receptions. They would assist in drawing the Irish, and probably many of the English nobility to Dublin, thus adding to the prosperity of the handsome Irish capital, which, as a result of its unrivalled suburbs and enhanced political and social status, could hardly fail to become the most fashionable and attractive city in the United Kingdom, next to London.

The judges would stand in the same relation to Ireland that the law lords in the Imperial upper chamber occupy in reference to the British Empire, and would constitute the final Court of Appeal for Ireland.

Though the proposed clerical element may appear to be unduly large in the opinion of Englishmen and Scotchmen holding advanced political views, the peculiar position of Ireland in respect to sectarian divisions has to be very strictly borne in mind. It is, besides, necessary to remember that, being for the most part men of advanced age, with considerable local demands upon their energies, and scattered all over Ireland, their attendance in full numbers could only be of rare occurrence ; probably half a dozen would represent the average extent to which the entire clerical members, Catholic and Protestant, would be able to put in an appearance. Altogether, it might be assumed that this proposed upper chamber would consist of a majority of Protestants and Conservatives, united for legislative purposes with a minority—but an influential minority—of Catholics and Nationalists ; an enormous proportion of the members, although nominated, having passed through some previous processes of election or selection.

X.—The Irish House of Commons.

The formation of an Irish House of Commons as compared with an Irish House of Lords, is a very simple undertaking. As the old Irish House of Commons consisted of 300 members, perhaps some Irishmen might wish their new or restored House to be composed of the same number. At the same time it can hardly be denied that 300 members is an unduly large number for a nation of less than five million inhabitants, having neither army or navy to manage, or Foreign, or Imperial, or Colonial interests to attend to and watch over. Surely one-third of this number, that is to say, ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS, would be found sufficient,—not only to carry on the business of the Irish House of Commons, but to attend likewise to Irish interests, and Imperial interests, in the Parliament at Westminster.

In an Irish House of Commons, whether elected on the present, or on a more simple, or extended suffrage, the Protestants would probably be in a minority of two or three to one ; but as Ireland, unlike Wales, Scotland, and England, has no disestablishment question on her hands—that

matter having been effectually disposed of twenty-five years ago—it is difficult to see upon what subjects Catholics and Protestants, as such, need have irreconcilable differences. It is also true that the democratic element would be immensely in the ascendant, and that the Conservatives, representing property and capital, would be a small minority easily outvoted. But if liable to be overborne in the division lobbies, the minority would always be strong enough to secure the full and complete discussion of everything affecting the personal interests of their supporters. The majority, moreover, would know that the ultimate decision rested with another chamber differently constituted and in which crude or insufficiently considered propositions would be amended or rejected.

Nor would the “loyal minority,” the assumed possessors of so large a proportion of Ireland’s wealth, have reason to fear spoliation at the hands even of an Irish House of Commons, since it must be abundantly evident that *as a result of the proposed land settlement*, Ireland would be a gainer by at least two millions per annum, even after meeting the expenses of which it is proposed the Imperial Exchequer should be relieved. But this would only be the immediate gain, the *ultimate* gain being greater beyond conception as the Constabulary charges declined; as the economy and efficiency of local self-government succeeded the inefficiency and extravagance of alien rule; as the resources of the country were more and more developed; as pauperism and illiteracy diminished no matter how slowly, and the workhouse system gradually dwindled away; and, above all, when Ireland’s contributions to the Imperial Exchequer were settled on an equitable and reasonable basis, and in proportion to its resources, and therefore to over *three millions sterling per annum less than its present amount*.

XI.—Irish Imperialist Members.

It would be well for Irishmen (only, however, in consideration of the proposed land settlement and the re-establishment of an Irish Parliament) to anticipate a very

necessary, as well as an inevitable, reform in the Imperial House of Commons—namely, a great reduction in the number of their members. Ireland might agree to be represented by 32 members—8 Conservatives and 24 Nationalists—at all events, *for the twelve years already referred to* ; of course, on the clear understanding that when the present ridiculously excessive number of 670 Imperialist members is reduced to about 250 or 300, that Ireland shall then receive her exact populational quota. I propose that these 32 members be selected from the 100 members of the Irish House of Commons, being, in fact, their delegates to the Imperial Parliament ; and that these 32 members continue to act also as members of the Parliament in Dublin. Though members of the Irish Parliament, they should, nevertheless, be regarded by Irishmen as in exactly the same position in the Imperial House of Commons as their English, Scotch, and Welsh colleagues, *and as eligible for office* ; though not to hold office concurrently in the Irish as well as the Imperial Government. Of course, the 32 Irish members would no more require to be in daily attendance at Westminster than the members for Wales or Yorkshire ; nor, in fact, to anything like the same extent, when we remember the number of important matters affecting Ireland that for the future would seldom require consideration in the Imperial Parliament, or would have been transferred from its jurisdiction altogether to the

IRISH PARLIAMENT IN DUBLIN.

Some General Suggestions in Connection with the foregoing.

I.—The Irish House of Commons.

1. This assembly to be elected every four years, the power of dissolution being unknown.

2. Polling expenses in rural constituencies to be defrayed by the County Councils, and in borough constituencies by the rate payers, except where the candidate fails to poll one-tenth of the electorate.

3. Ordinary members to receive £360 per annum from the Irish Exchequer, Imperialist members receiving £240 additional, pending the adoption of the "payment of members principle" by the Imperial Parliament.

4. The constituencies to continue as at present, or at all events for eight years ; or, in other words, until after the publication of the next official census, except that—(1.) Dublin University—having direct representation in the House of Lords—to cease to return members to the House of Commons. (2.) The County of Longford to lose one of its two members.

5. Seats becoming vacant to remain so during the existing Parliament.

II.—Parliamentary and Municipal Reform.

These highly contentious and partizan subjects might be removed from the Irish political arena for twenty or thirty years, or perhaps for half a century, by the adoption of the following suggestions, or the most of them, namely:—

1. Parliamentary boroughs to be co-extensive, politically and municipally, with their complete urban population, *and with their urban population only.*

2. The Parliamentary Register to be likewise the Municipal Register and the Baronial Boards Register.

3. This GENERAL REGISTER to consist of two classes of persons:—

- (1) The male and female householders, tenant farmers, and occupiers of business premises, subject to no qualification or restriction whatever.
- (2) All other male persons of full age, who, not being in receipt of Baronial or Parochial relief, shall have resided in the constituency for not less than six months previous to the opening of the Revision Court *every four years*.
4. The Counties of Dublin, King's, Queen's, Westmeath, Kildare, and Wicklow to return one member each, instead of two as at present.
5. The cities of Dublin and Belfast to return three and two additional members respectively.
6. Kingstown, with immediately adjoining urban districts, to become a Parliamentary borough, returning one member.

III.—The Metropolis.

(Street Nomenclature—A Compromise.)

1. Sackville Street to retain its present name, conditional on Carlisle Building being re-named O'Connell Building.
2. Westmoreland Street to be re-named Parliament Street, and Parliament Street Corporation Street.
3. The "green-house" opposite the entrance to the House of Lords to be removed. Likewise the Moore statue.
4. The man on horseback in Stephen's Green, and the man on horseback in Dame Street to be placed alongside of the man on horseback in Dawson Street.
5. A colossal statue, at the national expense, to be erected in St. Stephen's Green to Thomas Moore, illustrative of his principal creations.
6. Rutland Square, to include Cavendish Row, to be thrown open to the public, and re-named Parnell Square; a statue, being erected to Mr. Parnell on the most prominent site therein by public subscription.
7. Great Britain Street to be re-named Irish Street.
8. Essex Quay to be re-named Grattan Quay.

9. Nassau Street to be included in Leinster Street, or *vice-versa*, the College Park railings being lowered to the level of the pavement, the new thoroughfare thus becoming a formidable rival to Prince's Street, Edinburgh.

IV.—The Land Settlement.

The Tenantry.

1. The tenantry, on the 1st May, 1895, to pay their last half-year's rent to their present landlords in return for a specially designed receipt supplied to the landlords by the Irish Government.

2. The tenantry, on the 1st November, 1895, to pay their first half-year's rent to the Baronial Boards in return for a specially designed receipt supplied by the Irish Government, containing the tenant's unabreviated name and address, with full description and situation of the holding.

3. Each of these receipts to bear a stamp calculated at one shilling per pound of rental, the tenant to pay for the latter, the landlord for the former.

4. Similarly stamped receipt forms for future payments to be supplied to the tenantry by the Irish Government through the medium of the Post Office, two-thirds of the proceeds to be handed over to the Congested and Distressed Districts Department of the Minister of Agriculture.

5. Household furniture, wearing apparel, agricultural implements, growing crops, milch cows or animals employed in agriculture to be non-liaible for seizure in respect of debt, except at the instance of the Baronial Boards, or for servants' wages, work done, or for medical attendance.

6. Where the tenant or his representatives desire to dispose of the holding, the Baronial Board to have the option of purchasing same, or conducting the sale.

7. The Baronial Board to relet the holding by public competition, not necessarily accepting the highest or any immediate offerer.

8. The biddings to have reference *to the tenant-right only* the rents remaining unaltered, except at the instance of the Irish Parliament.

9. The Irish Parliament to be empowered to *reduce* the rents, but not to increase them, after fifteen years.

10. The Baronial Board having purchased a holding, and having decided to sub-divide it, or to use it to increase the size of the immediately adjoining ones, the scheme—whether of sub-division or partition—to require the approval of the County Council.

11. The farm to be so treated being a grazing one, or exceeding 99 acres, the sanction of the Minister of Agriculture to be likewise necessary.

12. Present holders of grazing farms to be required to devote one-fourth to tillage, or to sell this proportion to the Baronial Board, the County Council confirming the purchase arrangement.

13. Holdings held by persons who do not reside upon them, or work them, and whose incomes are mainly derived from non-agricultural pursuits, to be exempt from this land settlement, except that the Baronial Boards shall take the place of the present owners, and give such tenantry a reduction of 15 per cent.

14. It being determined by the Irish Government to establish a State Insurance Department in connection with agricultural and educational interests, every tenant under 50 years of age to insure his life for an amount approximately equal to at least three years' rent; no medical examination being required provided certain questions are answered in the affirmative. The half-yearly premium to be included in the rent receipt, though taken separately if tendered, the Baronial Board having first claim on the policy in respect of the ensuing half-year's rent, or for moneys advanced on loan.

The Landlords.

1. The thirty millions already at the disposal of the Land Commissioners should be sufficient to satisfy the necessities of the Irish landlords pending the arrangement of a divisional scheme to be submitted to the Imperial Government within 18 months of the passing of the Purchase Act.

2. The scheme of division should be based upon the payments of the tenantry to the Baronial Boards within that period, subject to the following or some similar classification :

CLASS I.—The Skinners' Company of London, or Absentee Corporation, or Mortgagee type.

CLASS II.—The Duke of Devonshire, or wealthy Englishman type.

CLASS III.—The Marquis of Downshire, or wealthy Irishman type.

CLASS IV.—The smaller Irish landlords.

CLASS V.—Irish landlords admittedly embarrassed or distressed.

I submit that Class V. should receive a much higher scale of compensation than Class I., and that Classes II. and III. might be willing to accept a slightly lower scale of compensation than Class IV. I also think that Classes II. and III., and some of Class IV might take into consideration the circumstances of the numerous men and women who have virtually or actually ceased to be any longer landlords as a consequence of agricultural and political changes and legislation during the last fifteen years.

V.—Universal Education.

(This is surely a better term than Compulsory Education, which conveys a wrong idea, implying opposition or indifference on the part of parents or some other persons.)

The Scholars.

1. Every child in Ireland, simply as the result of having resided therein between the ages of four and fourteen, to have received in school at least one wholesome meal per day during that period.

2. This meal to be prepared as far as possible from oats and potatoes, rather than from wheat, Ireland being an oat-growing and not a wheat-growing country.

3. The scholars to render active and direct assistance in the preparation and distribution of this mid-day meal.

4. Female scholars to undergo an active and constant training in the by no means simple or easily acquired art of making oat-cake and stirabout *as they ought to be made*.

5. The importance to Ireland of this apparently trivial detail may perhaps be appreciated from the following facts :

Irish acreage under oats in 1894 ... 1,254,813 acres.

Irish acreage under wheat in 1894 ... 49,342 acres.

6. For reasons known to agriculturists oats can never be affected by foreign competition to the same extent as wheat, or, indeed, to any serious and lasting extent at all.

7. Whereas it must surely be evident from the following table that within a not very distant period the cultivation of wheat in Ireland will have ceased altogether, or be confined to a very few isolated districts :—

Irish Acreage under Wheat.

Years.			Acres.
1862	...	...	356,321
1866	...	...	299,190
1870	...	...	259,847
1874	...	...	187,978
1878	...	...	154,041
1882	...	...	152,824
1890	...	...	93,208
1891	...	...	80,870
1892	...	...	75,408
1893	...	...	54,998
1894	...	...	49,342

8. Or in other words, that Ireland's bread will have to be exclusively supplied from abroad through the medium of England.

9. And at an almost prohibitive or famine price, as the result of a war with the United States or any great Continental power.

10. That it therefore behoves Irishmen to disregard Dr. Johnson's well known observation : that oats were the food of horses in England and of men in Scotland.

11. And to appreciate the less known Scotch retort :—
And where will you find such men and such horses ?

12. Moreover, wheat, imported by English merchants and English shipowners, *arrives in the shape of flour*, doubtless, in many cases seriously adulterated. Whereas oatmeal, grown in the district and ground in the district, must be free from impurities, as well as sustaining the milling industry.

13. The preparation of bread and cakes in the home adds

greatly to the strength of home influences, induces home-going on the part of the labourer and the artisan, and is, therefore, to be promoted by making the wives of the future experts at breadmaking from the only cereal that can be profitably grown in Ireland, *and which can never be offered for sale at famine prices in Ireland.*

14. Every scholar to be decently and healthily clothed in materials of Irish manufacture.

(This should be an extraordinary stimulus to the Woollen and other Irish industries.)

15. Every scholar to have acquired the art of swimming, and the boys also of rowing, and in maritime districts of sailing and fishing.

16. Every boy during the last three years of the school-going period to have passed through some such experience as the members of the Boys' Brigade.

17. Every scholar to have ample opportunities of learning the game of chess.

18. Saturday to be a half-holiday, and not, as at present, a blank day. After the mid-day meal the scholars to devote themselves, or be engaged in, brigade drill or outdoor exercises ; or in wet or inclement weather to chess, music, reading or other suitable recreations.

19. Evening schools to be established for the benefit of older scholars or for those who, during the school-going period, may be required to assist at certain seasons in the business of agriculture.

20. School attendance, except for very young persons, to be from 9.30 till 4.30, the dinner and recreation interval consisting of two hours.

21. The school-going period having expired, the male scholar, in consideration of the expense incurred in his ten years' education, to be compelled to attend the evening school at least two evenings per week for three years, and if in receipt of wages to pay for same.

The Teachers.

1. The daily and evening schools to be open continuously throughout the year, except during Christmas week, Easter week, and the first week in August.

2. All teachers, as the result of reaching the age of 18, to have passed twelve or eighteen months in France or Germany or in Belgium or Switzerland, of course prosecuting their studies while abroad in like manner as when at home.

3. Teachers, as the result of reaching the age of 21, to have passed at least one vacation in the United States.

4. The remuneration of teachers, as regards day duties, to consist entirely of salary, which should commence at a respectable minimum, rising annually to a maximum.

5. Results, however, to be given for the evening tuitions ; half-yearly examinations being held under the auspices of the County Councils, pupils from the day schools being presentable if over ten years of age.

6. The salaries of the teachers to be receivable monthly from the Baronial Boards.

7. Teachers to insure their lives in the State Insurance Department on the endowment principle, that is, receivable at a certain age. The premium to be not less than one-tenth of the annual salary when 21 years of age.

8. There is no reason why schools should not be places of recreation and pleasure, as well as education and dull drudgery. Every school should therefore take in hand the gradual formation of a library of entertaining and instructive works. These should comprise travel and adventure, biography and fiction, history and general knowledge, written in a style suited to the young, and also to the youth of both sexes ; illustrated editions being selected, if obtainable.

9. The evening scholars, and certain of the day scholars, to have the privilege of borrowing those works for home-reading.

By free education it must not be assumed that the foregoing advantages, or any of them, would be universally conferred gratis by the Irish Government, or the Baronial Boards, but that no child—simply as the result of want of means, or disposition on the part of parents or guardians—should be debarred from their attainment.

Boys and girls thus educated, would no more remain in "congested districts" than water at the top of a mountain.

As for the teachers, their increased status and emoluments would infallibly attract a higher class of men and women into their ranks. The cost of their proposed Continental training would, in consequence, fail to become a serious difficulty.

The Constabulary.

It is assumed that the land settlement will have the effect of enabling the Imperial and Irish Governments to gradually reduce and ultimately to abolish this frightfully expensive and semi-military force. It is assumed that apart from agrarian circumstances, this singularly offensive and domineering force need never have existed, and that its reduction can be taken in hand forthwith and be accelerated by the following methods :—

1. In the formation, wholly or partially, from its ranks of two regiments of Irish Guards, one horse and the other foot.
2. In the filling up of vacancies as they occur in the Dublin Metropolitan Police.
3. In the immediate stoppage of recruiting, and the dismissal of recruits, with compensation.
4. In the filling up of vacancies, or of a certain proportion of them, in the Post Office, Customs, and other departments of the Imperial and Irish public service.
5. In the extension of the pension system, by offering special inducements to the older members.
7. And, of course, the Baronial Boards having obtained Parliamentary sanction for a local police system, would willingly engage members of the Constabulary to act for them in that capacity.

CROWNING THE EDIFICE.

1. Political prisoners, whether in English or Irish prisons, to be released.
2. Ordinary prisoners, not being inveterate offenders or dangerous characters, to be at once released or their sentences reduced.
3. The Volunteer system to be extended to Ireland.
4. Queen's Colleges to be abolished, the Cork and Galway buildings being handed over to the Roman Catholics, and the Belfast building to the Presbyterians.

5. The building on the rock of Cashel to be handed over to the Roman Catholics, conditional on their restoring same.

6. The Roman Catholics to be allowed to acquire by purchase either Christ's Church or St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

7. The abolition of customs and other duties on coffee, chicory, cocoa, raisins, currants, and other dried fruits.

This, besides being a step in the direction of Temperance Reform and a "free breakfast-table," would be a boon to the English as well as the Irish working classes, neither of whom are coffee and cocoa drinkers to the extent it is so strongly desirable they should become so, in view of the steady deterioration in the quality of tea, generally Indian, which is usually prepared for the poorer classes in both countries.

8. Excise and stamp licences of all kinds, as at present imposed, enabling persons in Ireland to carry on certain businesses or professions, or to make or sell certain articles, or to carry firearms, or to shoot or sell game, to be in future obtainable from the Irish Government only.

9. Receipt, insurance, and other stamps enabling persons in Ireland to receive or promise to pay money, make contracts, or enter into engagements or agreements of any kind, to be obtainable from the General Post Office only.

(The Imperial Government, as a set-off to the above loss of revenue retaining the money at present annually voted to the Queen's Colleges, as well as being able to cut down the admittedly over-manned Irish Bench and legal expenses in Ireland generally. These two latter propositions are necessary in the interest of Irish autonomy rather than of revenue. It may here, perhaps be observed that a financial arrangement between Ireland and Great Britain is one quite impossible of exact precision; general and generous approximation being obviously advisable in the ultimate interests of the Empire, equally with those of Ireland.)

The Unification of Dublin.

1. During the last fifty years—that is to say, since the time its present boundaries were created—the population of Dublin has greatly extended, and is still doing so.

2. Largely as the result of the railway and tramway system, some seventy or eighty thousand persons reside immediately outside what is known as the *city*, and object to be included therein for municipal purposes.

3. Would the establishment of an Irish Parliament of the kind proposed in these pages abolish, or, at all events, greatly mitigate, this objection?

4. Surely it would, if only on account of the following and other similar considerations :—

- (1.) The immense increase that would immediately and permanently take place in the “floating population”; not only from all parts of Ireland, but from Great Britain, the United States, and other English-speaking countries. This “floating population” being accommodated, and spending its money chiefly *in the city*, thus adding to the wealth of the city, and hardly at all to that of the townships.
- (2.) The increased extent to which it would be necessary for the nobility, gentry, and business classes to visit Dublin; or to have permanent residences therein.
- (3.) The consequent rise in rents that would inevitable take place in what are known as “fine old residences,” as well as in the larger description of houses, owing to the classes for whom they were originally erected returning once more to occupy them.
- (4.) Were rating to be based on *rental* rather than on “value,” would not the townships be more likely to gain than lose by an amalgamation with the *city* under such vastly altered circumstances?
- (5.) Dublin would then be a city containing about 340,000 inhabitants, and a worthy CAPITAL OF IRELAND.

TEMPERANCE REFORM.

1. FOURTEEN MILLIONS STERLING PER ANNUM — *or about double the sum annually paid by Irish farmers to the Irish landlords*—is an admittedly frightful amount to be spent in drink by so small and so very poor a nation as Ireland.

2. Women and children, the aged, the infirm, the residents in poor-houses, hospitals, prisons and similar public

establishments, together with total abstainers, and others almost so, spending little or nothing, it follows that the great bulk of this sum is expended by certainly not more, and probably by much less, than a single million of persons.

3. Of course, these fourteen millions are not spent on drink, but on TAXATION and drink.

4. The amount of this TAXATION cannot be definitely stated, but that it is at least **four millions sterling per annum**, is a clear and undoubted fact.

5. Far-reaching measures of temperance reform (only passable by an Irish Parliament acting in co-operation with Municipalities and County Councils) could materially reduce this very liberal and voluntary annual contribution to the English Exchequer.

6. To say nothing of results that might reasonably be expected to follow in various other directions, not difficult of imagination, and too obvious for statement.

7. By way of beginning, or, perhaps, rather to clear the way, the Irish Parliament might enact :—

- (1.) That licences be not renewed for the sale of alcoholic drinks at refreshment bars at railway stations.
- (2.) That private clubs, the subscription to which is less than four guineas per annum, payable at least half-yearly in advance, receive licences in exactly the same way, and subject to exactly the same conditions, as ordinary public-houses.
- (3.) No clubs to be allowed to sell alcoholic drinks except where the membership subscription is at least one guinea per annum, payable yearly or half-yearly in advance.
- (4.) Throughout Ireland, except in Dublin and Belfast, the hours of opening to be from half-past nine in the morning until half-past nine at night.
- (5.) Throughout Ireland, except in Dublin and Belfast, public-houses and clubs to be closed on Sundays.
- (6.) Throughout Ireland, public-houses and clubs to be closed on Saturday afternoons from two till six, and finally at 9.30.

(7.) The hours of opening on Sundays in Dublin and Belfast, *and for bona fide travellers* to be as follows :

1. From 1.30 p.m. until 3 p.m.
2. From 6 p.m. until 8 p.m.

(8.) Public-houses and clubs throughout Ireland to be entirely closed on Christmas Day.

The way being thus cleared, the formation of the following limited liability company could at once be taken in hand :—

The Dublin and Townships Publichouse Company, Limited.

1. The shares to consist of :—

- (1) Corporation 6 per cent. Debentures, £1,000,000.
- (2) Ordinary shares (maximum dividend, 10 per cent.), £2,000,000.

Earnings above these dividends to be handed over to the Corporation, with a view to the destruction of unsanitary districts, and the erection in lieu thereof of cheap and healthy accommodation for the artisan and poorer classes as well as for city improvements generally.

2. Objects :—

- (1) The acquisition of all houses licensed to sell alcoholic drinks to be consumed on the premises.
- (2) The total separation of the publican business from the grocery, or any other business.
- (3) The suppression of the dingy, badly ventilated, low-roofed type,—especially those whose sanitary accommodation is defective, or wholly wanting.
- (4) The suppression even of the better class description in neighbourhoods where they are clearly out of harmony with their surroundings, and an injury to adjacent properties. In Grafton Street, for example, they should be suppressed altogether, especially as very numerous first-class public-houses exist in the immediately adjoining thoroughfares ; also in Stephen's Green, Dawson Street, Kildare Street, and localities of a like description, whose inhabitants, we may be sure, neither want them nor use them, and who would gladly be relieved both of them and their customers.

3. Though from one-third to one-half of existing publichouses in Dublin and neighbourhood would in a few

years pass completely out of existence, it would by no means follow that a proportionate, or even an appreciable loss of business would thereby result. Men desiring beer or spirits would hardly go without them rather than cross from one side of a street to the other, or travel a couple of dozen yards. But, indeed, the instances are many in which they would only require to go *next door* to the closed house they had previously been in the habit of frequenting. There need be no difficulty in understanding that for purposes of refreshment, or even for drunkenness, half a-dozen publichouses in a limited area are as effectual as double or treble the number; especially when the suppressed houses would be the smaller and not the larger ones, many of the latter perhaps, becoming still larger.

4. The Company while continuing to transact as much business as its predecessors (and probably more, when, as the result of the establishment of an Irish Parliament, an immense increase would take place in the floating or visiting population), would do so under immensely more favourable conditions.

5. The closing of 400 publichouses would mean not only the saving of the rent paid for them by their present occupants—the NEW occupants would pay rent to the Company—a saving of from £35,000 to 50,000 a year.

6. There would be the further saving of 400 gas bills, say £5,000 per annum; 400 licences, say £10,000 per annum; 800 assistants, say £50,000 per annum; taxes say £7,000 per annum; advertisements, say £3,000 per annum; these items added to the minimum rent saving amount to £110,000 per annum—an under-estimate beyond doubt or question.

7. But would not the new Company, as an individual customer, receive an immensely enhanced respect and deference from the manufacturers and producers of the various articles and beverages they would require for the public?

8. To such an important customer, would goods of any description except in the best possible condition, and of the admittedly highest quality, be tendered for acceptance?

9. Would not prices be cut down to the lowest possible point?

10. Would not the new Company, as regards, at least, many articles, be its own merchant, its own manufacturer, its own importer?

11. Would not the new Company, by paying for goods on delivery, and by contracting for large quantities, effect an immense annual saving in the matter of DISCOUNT?

12. The public-houses of Dublin being in the hands of the same owners, *would it be any longer necessary to have uniform hours of business?* Regard being had to the fact that the busy time in one portion of the city is the slack time in some other portion, every public-house might be closed two hours during the day, enabling the assistants to dine quietly and comfortably, the premises being rearranged and thoroughly well ventilated.

13. The requirements of the public not being overlooked, certain houses might be closed from 2 to 4, others from 3 to 5, others from 4 to 6, while not a few might be closed altogether at seven or eight o'clock, as, indeed, is the case at present in several well-known instances in the City of Dublin.

14. The same remarks apply to Sundays. In some houses a greater trade is done on Sundays, notwithstanding the limited hours of business, than on any two days of the week; others, again, doing little or nothing. A number of houses necessary for week-day business might, therefore, be closed on Sundays, or, at all events, during the second of the proposed two openings—a further saving in gas and other items of expenditure, as well as in wear and tear of premises, being thereby effected.

15. Of the present traders, it may be presumed that a number of them—especially those who are in comfortable circumstances, or advanced in years—would gladly retire altogether from business, provided they could do so on unusually advantageous terms.

16. The remainder would either be engaged by the proposed Company as district managers, buyers, stock-keepers, foremen, or in other capacities, or would retire into the position of spirit grocers—a class of traders with whom it would not be necessary to interfere, except as regards hours of opening.

